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868 ried their guns and belt no matter how close they were to camp. Awake or asleep
526 they were never without their guns. After this ride C. wanted to show those
866 people just how he had trained his boy. They were on the sandy side of the hill. Nobody was on that hill.

C. told the boy, "Take your shirt off so that you'll have no excuse of something to trip over." All the men watched from the side. C. told the boy to stand on a gentle slope. He stood about fifty feet away from the boy.

C. took his gun and put cartridges in it. He is a sharpshooter; he shoots from the hip. He said, "All right, you start! You go down there."

The boy began to dodge and run. C. began to shoot. You could see the dust flying all around that boy, but he didn't get hit!

The boy is constantly reminded that this training must serve him for the raid and warfare situations which he will face.

The parents and grandparents all advise the boy. They tell him to run up hills so that in emergencies he can get along by himself, for in wartime, they tell him, nobody will go back for him, and he must keep up.

[867] They advise the boys that in case of war they should have a strong feeling that they will overcome the enemy; they tell the boy that the enemy is as frightened as he is; and that, if he puts on a brave front and charges, the enemy may run. And they tell the boys that, after coming home from a successful
[626] battle, their relatives and friends will be proud of them. Cowards are talked
[581] about, told nasty things before their faces, and are in disgrace. A girl would not marry a lazy or cowardly man because the women say he wouldn't be a good
[577] provider. The boys know all this.

As time goes on group tactics assume increasing importance in the physical education of the novice. Where there are a number of boys of the proper age in the local group, they are brought together frequently for the training tasks.

Suppose I have a boy in the group. I give him equipment and tell him to go out there. The boys line up, ready to run. Maybe two men go along and see that the boys don't stop running. Then along comes a man with water in a little container and says, "Take a mouthful, but don't swallow it; hold it in your mouth. You are going to run four miles with this water in your mouth."

They all start out, not running full speed, but trotting. When they come back they are inspected. Each man inspects his boy to see if he still has the water in his mouth. He says, "All right, spit that water out." If the boy swallows the water on the way, the trainers see that he doesn't do it a second time.

868 Now one old man from the group of camps [extended family] might say, "I
865 have a fine boy. He is hard to beat." Then perhaps my father would say, "I
526 have a good boy. Bring your boy in." In they come. Everybody is around. The other boys who are novices are there too, waiting. They match these two, and

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Sometimes these affairs become a testing-ground for love and result in stable union. Such a case is the one cited below, where social dancing acted as a shield for a sexual adventure. The individuals involved have been happily married for many years now:

> When I danced with her, I'd say, "What are we fooling around here for? We could be by ourselves." The next time she'd pull my sleeve, and we'd dance a little. Then I'd say, "Let's go." I'd go one way, and she'd go the other. We'd meet at a certain place.

Many problems arise when premarital sex relations result in pregnancy, especially if the man involved flees, denies responsibility, or is considered undesirable. The girl's kinsmen can no longer demand generous marriage gifts and will be relieved to find a man who will agree to support another's child. If a husband cannot be found for the girl prior to the birth of her baby, the public nature of the scandal and the necessity of provision for the child raise further issues. Therefore, resort is sometimes made to abortion, and illegitimate children are occasionally abandoned or destroyed at birth.

Herbalists give decoctions said to promote abortion. "There is a medicine used. You have to hire someone who knows how to make and use it." Mechanical means are also attempted:

> They try to bring about abortion by pressing themselves over a sharp stick or stump, or by getting someone to press the stomach in a certain way. It was practiced in the old days, and it is practiced now. News of it always leaks out, though it is practiced in secret.

> To perform abortion they press and massage the stomach. The girl shouldn't have anything to eat for several days.

Of the fate of an unwanted illegitimate child the following suspicion was voiced: "A certain man's daughter was in trouble a while back. She's just a young girl. They say her baby was born dead, but I think she killed it, or her relatives killed it in some way."

When illegitimate children are not disposed of, however, they are treated kindly. "Illegitimate children are often kept, and such a child is not discriminated against. It lessens a woman's

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848 [581] chance for a good marriage if she has an illegitimate child, however." Illegitimacy may even be a spur to achievement:

[555] An illegitimate child, when he realizes that he has no father, tries to make good in other ways, by bravery perhaps. There was a man in my group who was illegitimate but who rose to be a leader in war. He was recognized as a brave and good man and was respected. A man can rise from an illegitimate childhood position to wealth or even chieftainship if he has powerful friends.

842 *Theories of conception.*—Any discussion of illegitimacy raises the question of theories of conception, for the term for "bastard," literally, "child of many," is the verbal symbol of far-reaching notions.

Ideas of fetal development begin much like modern scientific dicta:

We believe that life is connected with a woman's egg. I've never heard them talk much about what there is there first from which the child develops. Everything has to start from eggs, I guess. Turtles and birds do.

842 826 Likewise the male seminal fluid is seen as a fertilizing agent. But here the parallel ceases:

[828] I have heard the old men speak about it [i.e., semen] and say that it comes out of very rich blood. It is the very best, the richest blood. It is stored up in the testicles. Then it affects the feeling of all the nerves [creates desire] and it is the belief that it brings birth. It affects both men and women.

The Chiricahua believe that there is in the woman a pouch with her blood in it. When the man has intercourse with a woman, some of his blood [semen] enters her. But just a little goes in the first time, and not as much as the woman has in there. The child does not begin to develop yet, because the woman's blood struggles against it. The woman's blood is against having the child; the man's blood is for it. When enough collects, the man's blood forces the baby to come.

842 A logical extension of the "blood accumulation" theory is the belief that impregnation cannot occur as a result of a single sexual contact. Said a spokesman in reference to his first sexual experience:

One night when I was out with her, we got pretty excited. I handled her quite a lot. She resisted a little but not too much, and finally she let me do it. . . . After we finished, I felt pretty ashamed. I took that girl back. I avoided her for quite a time. Later on I got over it and didn't avoid her, but I never took her out again or did anything to her.

I wasn't afraid that I had got her in trouble. I had only had intercourse with her once. Nothing can come of that. You have to do it with a girl twenty or

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MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS, MARRIAGE, AND RESIDENCE

582 [584] Most marriages are arranged in terms of a conventional pattern in which the wishes of the families involved carry much weight. The early completion of the girl's training, the need of the encampment for additional young men, and the disapproval of premarital sex experience for women are all factors contributing to the tendency for girls to marry young. Therefore, "the [881] girl is allowed to marry by Chiricahua rule after her ceremony, after her first menstruation."[1]

881 864 At the time of puberty the girl is given the advice necessary to guide her actions in caring for herself at the time of menstruation and in regulating her relations with men:

> They tell the girls how to keep clean during menstruation. There are no restrictions on a woman at this time; she can eat any food and she can go around. But the girls are told to wear their old clothes during menstruation and that they [841] must not leave them around. They are shown how to wear something like a loincloth with a pad at this time. The girls are also reminded of the effect of menstrual blood on men. They are told that it makes men paralyzed and deformed, [492] unable to straighten their arms or legs. The girls are also told that they can ride mares but not male horses during menstruation.
>
> 881 867 836 ●581 And they tell a girl that she must stay pure until her marriage, that virginity is expected of a woman who has not been married before. They tell her that a man might leave a woman who is not a virgin, that the maidenhead is the sign of virginity, and if a woman is not proved a virgin by this means at marriage, a man would get angry and the marriage would be broken up.

581 [582] The young man cannot look forward to so early a marriage, for he must first prove his ability to provide for and defend a family by participating in the four raiding parties.

Marriage is considered less a romantic venture than a solid economic arrangement, though personal and individual values are by no means totally eliminated:

> Many of the old people think of marriage from the economic side. They advise a man to marry and have a home because they figure that the man will then be serious, will provide for his family, and get ahead. On the other hand, you can't disregard physical love either. Whether or not the old people think of this, the young ones do. I often hear people remarking that some boy has married just for love and wasn't sensible enough to take a girl who was a good worker and

[178] [1] Some informants deny this and even complain that "the girls marry too young today," but the evidence of former early marriage is conclusive.

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could provide a real home for him. Often they talk of foolish young people who don't think of practical things when they marry. 581

Sometimes the parents of the boy and girl arrange the match and only tell the principals when all arrangements are made. If a man is industrious, he has more chance to get a match, and the same is true for the girls. Some very ugly Indian men have gotten beautiful girls, not because the girls wanted them, but because the parents of the girl recognized their industry and insisted on the marriage. Old men who are rich sometimes marry very young girls in this way. 581 584

Often the prospective husband thoughtfully contemplates not only the young lady but the affinities to whom he will be so closely bound if he marries her:

Before marriage a man looks at the parents of the girl, at her industry, sees how strong and able to bear children she is, how congenial and sweet she is, and he decides on these grounds. Beauty of face is of little account. Industriousness is most important probably, but if a woman is mean and cranky a man would never have her, eveh if she was a good worker.

As might be expected from the important part that settled elders play in marriage arrangements, the decisions arrived at do not always conform to the wishes of the young people:

In one way of arranging it, the children are just matched up by the parents and relatives when they reach marriageable age. The two families might be friendly. When they tell the girl, sometimes she may not want to marry the man chosen for her. Sometimes they appeal to her or otherwise influence her against her will. As for the boy, maybe he knows the girl, maybe not. Perhaps he has never spoken to her but has seen her only at a distance.

It's not so easy as we've been making out. Sometimes a girl will run off rather than marry a man. Some girls are forced into marriage.

Girls are married to men many years older than they are sometimes, because their parents match them to wealthy persons. And some younger men marry rich widows. I notice that the older person is inclined to be very jealous in these cases. [587]

This does not mean that true love matches are unknown, but such unions receive scant sympathy, especially when they turn out badly: 581

F. is a good example of a woman who went crazy over a man and still is that way. She can take more abuse than any woman I ever saw. Her husband has never done any work and never will. There's no chance of his making good. But she married him. Look how he has treated her! But she is wild about him right now. If it wasn't for her family, she'd be back with him now.

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K. avoids my mother-in-law, who is his mother-in-law, too, by a first marriage. When his wife died there were no other available girls in the family. So he married outside the family. Now he avoids B., his present mother-in-law, too. 606 586

I hide from my present father-in-law. My first wife's mother was living until recently, and I hid from her too.

Avoidance of the wife's relatives commonly continues, also, after the separation of the married pair. This is all the more remarkable because, with divorce, the family of the woman loses all real claim to the economic support of the former husband. 602 606 586

The perpetuation of the avoidance relations serves a number of functions. It acts as a reminder that marriage is more than a matter of sexual privileges; that it is, in addition, a commitment of co-operation and respect between a man and a family—a commitment which death, remarriage, or divorce cannot entirely efface. Also it encourages a man to remarry into the same family after the death of his wife, for double obligations of this nature loom as a burden to him. Finally, it deters divorce and remarriage into another family with the attendant obligations. [581] [182] [587]

Termination of avoidance in any circumstances is strongly opposed by some informants:

According to the old custom, the person who stops avoiding his in-law is a witch. A man is a fool for stopping. I don't care if you are divorced; it goes on. It could be stopped, of course. I could get angry and say to my wife's relative, "Oh, I'm not going to hide from you any more." But what would people think of me? I wouldn't do it. I'm a good Chiricahua. You can't do it gracefully. The men in the three cases [of duplicate avoidance obligations following remarriage] I have just given you are young fellows. One is thirty-two years old, one is also in his thirties, the oldest is about forty. All were born under government supervision. If the young fellows do it, what do you think about the old fellows? They wouldn't stop doing it. C. told me these forms go on and on. [178]

And yet, under certain conditions, avoidance may be suspended or terminated:[1] 602 606

In an emergency, at the birth or death of a member of the family, in a case of life or death, you can go over avoidance and walk right in to the place where your mother-in-law or someone from whom you hide is. But it's not necessary to drop [195]

[1] The procedure described at this point is also used to terminate the cousin avoidances described on pp. 61–62. [605]

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said of him, "That man never gets into trouble; he has a good wife." During my work with this man, his wife showed a lively interest and often assisted with useful suggestions and details. Not long afterward the man died, and she was truly a grief-stricken figure.

Another informant, despite the pose of male indifference, paid his wife a deserved compliment. Speaking of another woman with whom he had once been friendly, he said, "That woman was very pretty when I was a young man. I nearly married her, but I did right to marry my wife. She is a good little woman and has a good reputation."

At another time, when I inquired about a sound of wailing I heard, thinking that someone must have been newly bereaved, I was told, "No, that woman cries every once in a while like that for her husband who died many years ago. She has never married again."

One informant, irritated by insinuations that marriages among his people were not stable or satisfactory before American interference, exclaimed: "Some people think that, because the Chiricahua didn't have a license in the old days, their marriages were no good. But a man couldn't leave a woman for nothing. The Chiricahua had strict and high standards."

But no matter how satisfactory a marriage arrangement is, husbands and wives, as far as external symbols are concerned, are expected to take each other for granted and to demand no small attentions or extra considerations:

> A man does not kiss his wife or relatives. We don't show emotion like that. Young people dance together before marriage and now some kiss before marriage, but not after.
>
> The Chiricahua woman does not resent it when her husband goes off without saying goodbye or saying when he will be back, and there is no special greeting for a wife even if the man has been away several days. Yet these married people think just as much of one another as white people do. It's just their way of acting.

## SEXUAL ADJUSTMENT

In speaking of the sexual adjustment in marital life, informants have emphasized the role of individual differences:

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They tell this story of a certain man. They say he was J.'s grandfather. He married and when he and his wife went to bed the first night, he just turned away from her. She didn't think much of it at first. Then he did the same thing the second night. Every night she thought he was coming to her, but he turned the other way instead. He did this for seventy-five nights, and then she left him.

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### BIRTH CONTROL, BARRENNESS, AND FERTILITY RITES

A childless marriage is considered a great misfortune, and sterility is an accepted cause for divorce. Sterility in a woman is sometimes attributed to a ceremony conducted over her in girlhood by envious or scheming adults.[2] But often a disappointed husband wonders whether his wife "has hired a man or woman who knows herbs and a ceremony to make her sterile, so that she won't be bothered by children:"

I have heard old people say that some women can perform a ceremony for another woman, and she will have no children no matter how many men have intercourse with her. Girls of about the age of puberty go through it, and older women who have too many children go through it too. They have a medicine to drink and a ceremony that goes with it that will prevent birth forever. Certain people practice this ceremony. It has to be paid for like any other ceremony.

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Various methods for the prevention of pregnancy have been described. "Rock crystal is used as a medicine when a woman does not want a child. The rock is ground up fine, and some of the powder is put in a drink. There are prayers and a ceremony connected with this, but I do not know them." A certain variety of small prickly-pear cactus fruit, because it is rare and its fruits are said not to ripen, is magically associated with these practices.

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Food or behavior restrictions imposed as a part of such ceremonies must be carefully observed. "If a woman is avoiding pregnancy by keeping away from some food or drink, such as honey, and breaks this fast, she will become pregnant." It is noteworthy that honey should be specifically mentioned as one of the foods prohibited if a woman wants no children, for beeswax is said to be "used ceremonially to cure sterility in women."

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Because of the prevailing desire for children and the insecurity of a childless woman, fecundity ceremonies are of much more frequent occurrence. In one of these rites the practitioner cere-

[2] See pp. 80–81.